

SAV GERMAN ENVOY FOR OLD COUNTRY'S WAR PLAN

French Assert Baron von Schoen Requested "Arrangements for His Own Person" While Still Talking Peace.

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The German military party is somewhat spoken of. The expression is inexact, even to say that Germany is the country where military power is supreme, as it is said that France is a country where the civil power is supreme. There is a state of mind more worthy of attention than this historical fact, because it constitutes more evident and closer ties, troops, a press convinced or paid to mould public opinion, various and respectable means to intimidate the Government. This party acts on the country with a clear idea of its own strength and its own power, and is ready to use it.

The partisans of war are divided into several categories, each one of which draws from its own class its intellectual and moral formation, its interests and bitterness, particular reasons which create a general state of mind and increase the strength and rapidity of the course of events.

Some desire a war because it is inevitable in certain circumstances. And for Germany it is much better too soon than too late. Others consider it necessary because of economic reasons dependent on overproduction, overproduction, the need of markets and outlets, or for other reasons—the diversion of the army abroad can alone prevent or retard the ascent to power of the democratic and socialist masses.

The spirit of "Bismarckism," the sentiment and the attitude of the German people, and there are many who desire a war with France solely from a mystic hatred of revolutionary ideas. Others feel it a humiliation to have to deal with Frenchmen on a ground of equality in conferences or commercial negotiations.

In reality these sentiments may be classified as follows: The landed property desire to avoid at any price the tax on successions, inevitable if peace is prolonged. The Reichstag favored this principle in the last session of that body. In a grave assault on the interests and privileges of the landholding class. Moreover, this nobility is a military aristocracy and it is interesting to compare the military annual with the annual of nobility. It is the only means by which prestige can be made to last, and its interests served. In the discussion of the military law an orator of this party gave as a reason for the need for advancement of officers in the army. This social class which forms a hierarchy, of which the head is the King of Prussia, watches with terror the democratization of Germany and the growing strength of the Socialist party, and regards its own days as numbered. Not only are its material interests menaced by a formal movement hostile to agrarian protectionism, but the political representation of the party is diminishing at each legislative session. In the Reichstag of 1878 there were 16 members (out of 193) belonging to the nobility; in that of 1890 only 53, and in the Reichstag of 1912, 57. Of the last number only 27 belonged to the Right, 14 being with the Centre, 7 with the Left and one on the Socialist benches.

The great "bourgeoisie" represented by the national liberal party, the party of the satisfied, has not the same reason as the landowners for desiring war. It is nevertheless bellicose, without exception. It has reasons of a social nature.

The great "bourgeoisie" the report continues, is losing its Parliamentary influence as rapidly as the landowners. It blames the revolutionary spirit among the workers on imported French ideas, believing that were it not for France there would be a spirit of servile tranquillity among the workers.

Armament Makers Wanted War. Finally the manufacturers of cannon and steel plates, bankers who speculate on the golden age and the war indemnity think war would be a good stroke of business.

Among the "Bismarckians" must be counted the officials of all ranks, represented in the Reichstag by the free conservatives or party of the empire, the party of officials in retirement whose ideas are expressed in the Post. They find followers among the groups of young men whose mind had been prepared by the school or the university.

A warlike ideology is developed in the university, says the report. Professors tell of the necessity of a German colonial empire. They say that militarism is a crushing burden on the world, but that France, which dreams of revenge is opposed to disarmament. She must therefore be reduced to impotence.

Historians, philosophers, political writers and other apologists of the "Deutsches Kultur" wish to impose upon the world a method of thinking and feeling specifically German. They wish to conquer the intellectual supremacy which, according to the opinion of lucid minds, remains with France. It is from this source that spring the phraseology of the Pan-Germans as well as the sentiments and the "Kriegsgeist" and the "Wehrgeist" and other associations of this kind too numerous to make it necessary to add that the discontent caused by the treaty of November 11, 1911, has caused a considerable increase in the number of the members of colonial societies.

There are finally partisans of war because of hate or resentment. These are the most dangerous. They are represented above all by the diplomats. German diplomats are in very bad odor with the public. The most bitter are those who since 1907 have taken part in the negotiations between France and Germany. They accumulate and add to the complaints against us, and one day they will present account in the bellicose press. It has always the impression that it will be in Morocco that they will seek revenge, although an incident is always possible at every point of the globe where France and Germany are in contact.

Even among Pan-Germans it is believed that Germany will not declare war. When the moment comes for action the Emperor will do everything possible to make France take the first step. It is seriously probable that Germany will risk the adventure.

France must give decisive proof to the world that the Russian alliance is a reality.

KAISER'S TALK WITH ALBERT. M. Jules Cambon, Ambassador of the French Republic at Berlin, to M. Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

BERLIN, November 22, 1913. I have from an absolutely certain source a story of a conversation which the Emperor had with the King of the Belgians, in the presence of Gen. von Moltke, chief of the General Staff, two weeks ago. A conversation which it appears made a deep impression on King Albert. I am not sure whether this impression was

watch is the same as I myself have felt for some time; hostility against us is growing and the Emperor has ceased to be a partisan of peace.

The person conversing with the German Emperor thought that to the present, like everybody, that William II., whose personal influence had been exercised in many critical circumstances to the benefit of the maintenance of peace, still had the same disposition of mind. This time he found him completely changed. The German Emperor is no longer in his eyes the champion of peace against the bellicose tendencies of certain German parties. William II. has come to think that war with France is inevitable and that it must be accepted one day or another. He believes naturally in the crushing superiority of the German army and its certain success.

Gen. von Moltke spoke exactly in the same vein as his sovereign. He also declared that war was necessary and inevitable, but he showed himself still more certain of success, "for," said he to the King, "this time it must be done and your Majesty cannot doubt the efficacy of the irresistible enthusiasm which on that day will carry with you the entire German people."

The King of the Belgians protested that it was making mockery of the intentions of the French Government to translate them in that way and to allow oneself to be misled regarding the sentiments of the French nation by the manifestly and some flighty minds or conscienceless intrigues.

The Emperor and his Chief of Staff persisted none the less in their manner of thinking.

In the course of this conversation the Emperor was, moreover, apparently obstinate and irritable. According as the years went by, William II. has become more and more a partisan of the retrogressive sentiment of the court and above all the impatience of the military element are obtaining more domination over his mind. Perhaps he feels the jealousy of the popularity acquired by his son, who flatters the passions of the Pan-Germans and does not think that the position of the empire in the world is equal to its power. Perhaps also the reply to France to the latest increase of the German army, the object of which was to establish beyond doubt German superiority, has had some effect on the Emperor's mind.

Moreover, Emperor William is less master of his temper than he was formerly. He has been on many occasions led to slip the real intent of his thought. Whatever may have been his object in the conversation which has been related to me the confidence has none the less a grave character. It corresponds to the precarious nature of the general situation and of the state of mind of the Emperor and of a public opinion in France and Germany.

In conclusion I would say that it is well to remember this new fact that the Emperor is less master of his temper than he was formerly and that, to borrow from him a phrase which he loves to use, "We must keep our powder dry." JULES CAMBON.

CHAPTER II.

Events Following Archduke's Death. Chapter II. of the Yellow Book refers to events beginning with the death of the Austrian Archduke on June 28, 1914, to the day when the Austrian ultimatum was delivered to Serbia, July 23, 1914.

After his first note of June 28, announcing the assassination at Sarajevo, M. Dunne, Ambassador of France at Vienna, advises M. Rene Viviani, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the crime had created strong feeling in military circles in Austria and that "the investigation of the origin of the crime which it is intended to demand from the Belgrade Government under conditions intolerable for its dignity, grounds for proceedings with a military enforcement of the demands."

On July 6, 1914, M. Paleologue, French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, sent the following letter to M. Rene Viviani, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"In the course of a conversation with the charge d'affaires of Austria-Hungary, M. Sazonoff called the attention of this diplomat, in a friendly manner, to the alarming irritation which the attacks of the Austrian press against Serbia might produce in his country."

"Count Czernin having intimated that the Austro-Hungarian Government might be compelled to seek in Serbian territory the instigators of the Sarajevo assassination," M. Sazonoff interrupted: "No country more than Russia," said he, "has suffered from crimes prepared in foreign territory. Have we ever attempted to punish which your newspapers are threatening Serbia? Do not attempt it!" "May this warning not be lost."

On July 21, 1914, M. Bienvenu-Martin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent the following note to the French Ambassadors at London, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Rome.

M. Jules Cambon has very serious reasons to believe that when Austria will take at Belgrade the steps which she deems necessary as a result of the Sarajevo assassination, that Germany will support it with all her authority without attempting to assume a role of mediator."

CHAPTER III.

Austrian Note and Serbian Reply.

Chapter III. is devoted to the Austrian note and the reply of Serbia. It covers the days of Friday, July 24, and Saturday, July 25. The note presented by the Austrian Government to the Belgrade and the reply of the Serbian Government are reproduced in full. These documents have already been printed in the "White Papers" of Germany and Great Britain and the "Orange Papers" of Russia.

This chapter also contains letters exchanged between the Paris Government and its Ambassadors in London, Berlin, Vienna, Petrograd (St. Petersburg), Rome and Belgrade in an attempt to intercede with the Vienna Government to prevent the sending of the Austrian note.

CHAPTER IV. Events Prior to War on Serbia.

Chapter IV. describes events from July 25, 1914, when diplomatic relations were severed, to July 28, 1914, when Austria declared war upon Serbia.

Bergson Says That Germany Forced War

Declares Bismarck, "Genius of Evil," Made Empire Adopt His Ambitions.

Special Cable Dispatch to The Sun.

PARIS, Dec. 12.—Prof. Henri Bergson, the philosopher, delivered at the Institute today a long and eloquent statement on modern Germany, with special reference to the war and its responsibilities.

For a long time, Dr. Bergson said, Germany was devoted to poetry, art and metaphysics. She then became transformed little by little under the influence of Prussia into "a people among whom everything tended to become mechanical. One man, the genius of evil and the incarnation of Prussian methods, resolved to make all Germany adopt, along with Prussian centralization and Prussian discipline, his own appetites and ambitions. That man was Bismarck."

"Then," continued Prof. Bergson, "one could see progressing together and mutually supporting each other, on the one hand the spirit of industry, which rose at the call of conquest, and on the other the army and navy, which incarnated this conquest spirit. This industry was chiefly devoted to purposes of war, while the army and navy devoted themselves to the opening of new roads for commerce and new industrial markets."

"Devotion to war purposes was communicated to Prussia by the Kings and by Prussia to the whole of Germany. It proceeded with ever increasing impetus until it got beyond all control and hurried to its destruction. The result was that brute force supplanted moral force, and when administrative mechanism and military mechanism a powerful mechanical nation came into existence, which inevitably sought to draw all the other nations into the same existence."

"Then began the conflict between moral and material forces and strangely enough the former suddenly revealed themselves as creators of the latter. In England, which reposes on its fleet, 2,000,000 soldiers sprang into being. In France, which every one thought was mortally distracted by political dissensions, Frenchmen became brothers in a day."

In conclusion Prof. Bergson said: "Spirit and matter are impregnably opposed; life advances not without costing life; great moral results are bought at the price of much blood and many tears. Now life and death are struggling and death is being conquered. Humanity has been saved by material suffering from a moral defeat which would have been its destruction, and the peoples, joyous in their deliverance, are singing the song of deliverance from the depth of their sorrow and their ruin."

Vienna, Petrograd and Rome, M. Viviani states: "The attitude of Germany proves that she wants war. And she wants it against France. Yesterday, when Baron von Schoen came to the Quai d'Orsay to what would be the attitude of France in the event of a Russian-German conflict, the German Ambassador, although there was no direct conflict between France and Germany, and despite the fact that ever since the beginning of the crisis we had devoted and are still devoting all our efforts toward a peaceful solution, added that he requested me to present to the President of the republic his respects and the expression of his gratitude, asking that we be kind enough to make 'arrangements for his own person'."

"We could not but be struck by the fact that he requested me to present to the President of the republic his respects and the expression of his gratitude, asking that we be kind enough to make 'arrangements for his own person'."

"The Ambassador of the republic at Berlin has been asked to lodge a formal protest with the imperial Government against these facts which constitute a characteristic violation of the frontier by armed German soldiers, which nothing justifies in the present condition of affairs. The Government of the republic can only leave to the imperial Government the entire responsibility for these actions."

On August 3, 1914, M. Paul Cambon, French Ambassador at London, sent the following message to M. Rene Viviani:

"Sir Edward Grey has authorized me to inform you that you may declare to Parliament that he intends to make certain statements to the House of Commons regarding the present attitude of the British Government, and that the most important of these statements will be as follows: 'In the event that a German squadron enters the Straits or sails through the North Sea, passing the British Isles with the object of attacking the French coast or the French fleet or the French merchant marine, the British squadron would intervene to lead to the French fleet its entire protection, the result being that from that moment Germany and England would be at war.'"

"Sir Edward Grey pointed out to me that the mere mention of an operation through the North Sea implied protection against a demonstration in the Atlantic Ocean."

"The declaration concerning the intervention of the British fleet should be considered as binding for the British Government. Sir Edward Grey has assured me of this and added that the French Government could inform both houses of Parliament thereof at once."

"Upon my return to the embassy I found your telephone message regarding the German ultimatum to Belgium. I immediately informed Sir Edward Grey thereof."

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"The Ambassador of Germany has asked for his passport and is leaving to-night with the personnel of the embassy and of the Consulate of Germany, together with the legation of Bavaria."

"I have formally protested against the false allegations of the Ambassador and recalled that on my side I had sent him a note yesterday protesting against the characteristic violations of the French frontier committed for the last two days by detachments of German troops."

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